"The administration of Taiwan is entrusted to the Taiwan governor-general, who is appointed by the Emperor of Japan. Before 1919 only generals or admirals could occupy this post (1) and nowadays, if the governor-general is at the same time a general or

1. Recently the opinion was expressed in the Japanese press that, in view of the importance of Taiwan as a base for the advance to the South, this practice should be restored.

admiral, he is also commander-in-chief of Japanese forces on the island. If, on the other hand, he is a civilian, he may demand from the commander of the army the use of troops for the maintenance of order. His powers are extensive. He supervises the work of all administrative machinery, promotes the officials, dismisses them from service, though in respect to certain ranks his action must be approved by Tokyo. He has a right to suspend or cancel any order or any administrative measure of provincial governors under him and he can impose on any person on the island, without recourse to the courts, a fine up to ¥200 and/or a prison term up to one year. Under him are his Secretariat, the Departments of Home Affairs, Education, Finance, Colonial Development, Police, Communications, Monopolies and the Research Institutes (Central, Sugar, Aquatic). His actions are supervised by the Japanese Minister of

Colonial (Overseas) Affairs, but as regards special branches of his administration he is also responsible to the Ministers of Finance and Communications."

4;Grajdanzev--161 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 641, 643, 177.64 Japan
636.64

"The people of Taiwan have no representatives in the Japanese Imperial Diet, they have no representative body which takes part in the legislation or administration of the island.

Under these conditions the position of the governor-general acquires a special importance, and yet if we exclude Kodama, who spent eight years at his post (from February 1898 to April 1906), the average length of tenure is two years and one month, too short a time for a good knowledge of the local conditions. The tenure of the government-general is evidently subject to the vicissitudes of political conditions in Tokyo and has little to do with Taiwan."

25: Plaut--28 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosans
116, 643, 648, 177.64 Japan
636.64

Finally on the 14th of April 1895, the treaty of Shimonoseki forced China to cede Formosa with all of its islands andthe Pescadores to Japan, and then the Japanese Government began rapidly and energetically to establish order in her new possession. The difficulties were formidable, for the Chinese residents of the island did not look upon the new masters with good grace; then, too, the Japanese were not sure about the best methods of procedure at first, so they were groping and uncertain, and several times they were forced to change their system. That was due to the fact that the local administration was often quite unsuitable for applying the good suggestions of the officials. But finally the administration was organized in an intelligent and permanent fashion, and since 1898 the island has progressed steadily under the energetic and intuitive guidance of the Governor General, Lieutenant General Kodama Gentaro, and the tireless labor of the skilled and discrete Civil Governor Dr. Goto Shimpei.

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
~~AD1~~ AD1

631
643 The governor-general was the head of the government-general of Formosa. Appointed directly by the Japanese emperor, he wielded extensive and autocratic powers. He supervised the work of all administrative machinery, nominated all officials under him, and, with the exception of a few of the highest rank such as the governor of the provinces and districts, he could promote or dismiss the officials under him. He appointed half of the membership of the provincial assemblies. He had the right to suspend or cancel orders of the provincial governors, veto measures of the provincial assemblies, and dissolve the assemblies. He could impose on any person on the island, without recourse to the courts, imprisonment up to one year or a fine up to ¥ 200. He was assisted by a director-general of civil administration who supervised the secretariat, the various administrative bureaus, and the Central Research Institute, and an Office of Imperial Affairs which co-ordinated military and civil affairs.[2] When the governor-general was a military man, he was also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces on Formosa. If he was a civilian, he might request the local commander to make use of the military or

2. Joseph W. Ballantine, Formosa, a Problem for United States Policy, Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1952, p. 27.

631
643 naval forces for the maintenance of order.

647 Under the governor-general, were a secretariat, several administrative departments, which included home affairs, education, finance, police, communication, agriculture, and industry, and monopoly bureaus and research institutes. There was also an
645 advisory council with forty councilors, all appointed by the governor-general, who was its chairman. The term of office for the councilors was two years. "In case of necessity, however, the governor-general of Taiwan is authorized to relieve any councilor of his post before the expiration of his office term."[3] The prerogatives of the council were "to announce its opinions in reply to questions submitted thereto by the governor-general regarding important matters of administration."[4] The councilors were appointed from among high-ranking government officials and resident citizens "rich in scholarship and experience." "Clearly, this is a purely bureaucratic
646 institution. The people of Taiwan have no representatives in the Japanese Imperial Diet; they have no representative body which takes

3. The Organization of the Council, Imperial Ordinance No. 248, June 1, as revised on June 28, 1930 by Imperial Ordinance No. 128, Article IV.

4. Ibid., Article I.

646 the tenure of the First National Assembly has been prolonged by a special act of the Legislative Yuan. The second session of the National Assembly was convened in Taipei on February 19, 1954 and was attended by 1,578 delegates. On March 10, it adopted a resolution to recall Vice-President Li Tsung-jen for dereliction of duty.[3] On March 22, the National Assembly re-elected Chiang Kai-shek as the President and two days later elected Ch'en Ch'eng as Vice-President of the Republic of China.

II. THE PRESIDENT

643 Under the Constitution the President is the head of the State with power to represent the nation in foreign relations. He commands the army, navy, and air force, and promulgates laws and issues mandates with the counter-signature of the President of the Executive Yuan. Subject to the restraints of the Legislative Yuan he exercises the power to conclude treaties, declare war, and make peace. He may declare martial law, and grant general amnesty, pardon, remission of sentences, and

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3. Li Tsung-jen has been living in the United States since December 1949 and has steadily ignored appeals by the Chinese government and the Kuomintang to return to Free China to direct the affairs of State.

643 restitution of civil rights. In accordance with law, the President appoints and removes civil and military officers, confers honors, and awards decorations.[4]

From the Constitution it may appear that the position of the Chinese President is similar to that of the French President or the British monarch. His decrees are not effective unless they are countersigned by the President of the Executive Yuan (a position corresponding to that of Prime Minister), whose appointment is subject to the approval of the Legislativ e Yuan. But unlike the French or the British system, the Chinese President is under no obligation, legal or political, to appoint the leader of the dominant party in the Legislature to be the President of the Executive Yuan. Chiang Kai-shek himself is the indisputable chief of the ruling party, the Kuomintang, so he is almost free to appoint anyone personally acceptable to him. Another source of the dominating power that President Chiang Kai-shek wields is his personal control over the armed forces. The air, ground, and naval commands on Formosa maintain their highly

4. Constitution, Articles 35-42.

643 autonomous character, and real military control is exercised directly by the President.[5]

645 The tenure of office of the President and Vice-President is six years, with eligibility for a second term. The office of the President is called Tsung-t'ung-fu. Supervising the President's secretariat are a Secretary-General, a deputy Secretary-General, and a Director of Military Affairs (often referred to as Personal Chief of Staff to the President), under whom there are three bureaus in charge of civil affairs, military affairs, and general administration, respectively. Attached to the Tsung-t'ung-fu are a number of tzu-cheng (senior political advisers) most of whom are retired high officials. The present Secretary-General is General Chang Ch'un, a former Prime-Minister, and General Huang Chen-ch'iu, former Vice-Minister of National Defense, is the Director of Military Affairs.

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5. Joseph W. Ballantine, Formosa, A Problem for United States Foreign Policy, Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution, 1952, p. 98.

645 important government bill is rejected by the Legislative Yuan and his request for reconsideration is overruled by two-thirds of the attending members. The Constitution provides 643 645 that the President of the Republic, in accordance with law, "appoints and removes civil and military officers,"[16] but it is not definitely stated whether the President of the Republic may dismiss at will a President of the Executive Yuan whom he has appointed with the consent of the Legislative Yuan. However, the President could always compel the Premier to resign by refusing to sign the decrees or orders presented by the latter for promulgation. So far no such case has occurred. There is no collective responsibility. The Premier alone is responsible to the Legislative Yuan. Theoretically, the Ministers of State do not have to resign in bloc when the President of the Yuan resigns; however, in practice, a new Premier has been free to choose new personnel to fill all the Ministerial posts. In the last reorganization of the Executive Yuan only one minister and one chairman of a commission[17] and four ministers without portfolio retained their posts.

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16. Article 41.

17. George Yeh, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Cheng Yin-fun, Chairman of the Overseas Affairs Commission.

631 government enjoys no autonomous power.
635 The governor and all the personnel in key positions of the provincial government are all chosen by the President or at least appointed
643 with his approval. Just like the men in high posts of the national government and the military command, only those considered absolutely loyal are appointed by him. President Chiang Kai-shek has often been criticized in his choice of personnel for rating personal loyalty to himself above everything else. This should not occasion surprise if one is familiar with Chinese history. Ever since the earlier Han Dynasty (202 B.C.-23 A.D.) Confucianism has been the dominant political philosophy of China. Confucius was born in a time of growing political and social unrest. He sought to re-establish order and peace by advocating a beneficent monarchy with all its subjects loyal to the sovereign. Through the milleniums, in the interest of maintaining order and peace as well as perpetuating their rule, Chinese rulers honored and supported Confucius. The emperors always singled out personal loyalty as the criterion for appointment, and President Chiang is merely upholding a deep-rooted political tradition.

Then, China became a republic in 1912. For sixteen long years there were incessant strifes created by different military factions, and chaos gripped the country. With a thousand cadets of the Whampoa Military

643 Academy of which he was president, Chiang started from Canton in 1926 to pacify the country, and in two years he succeeded in establishing a national government at Nanking. In the ensuing years, however, revolts still broke out here and there. As late as 1936, Chiang himself was kidnapped by a former warlord[5] in connivance with the Communists. It was only in the face of Japanese invasion that threatened China's national existence that the country rallied to the support of the Nationalist Government. But, during the disastrous struggle with the Communists after the war, defections were common; even some of Chiang's most trusted commanders turned against him. His profound training in Confucianism together with his unpleasant memory of the recent defections of his trusted men, must have convinced him to value the personal loyalty of his subordinates above every other [redacted]

Although it could be said that Chiang's insistence on rating personal loyalty over efficiency or integrity might have in some measure contributed to his own downfall on the Mainland,[6] the same insistence may

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5. Chang Hsüeh-liang who is interned in Formosa at present.

6. It is common knowledge that some of his trusted friends and relatives abused Chiang's confidence in them to amass fabulous

(continued next page)

643 constitute the source of his strength. No matter what position Chiang Kai-shek may be holding in the government, his leadership is never disputed. Even during his retirement in his native village in 1949, he was able to conduct military operations against the Communists and direct the evacuation of government and military personnel to Formosa.

645 Another source of President Chiang's political power is his position as Director General[7] of the Kuomintang. The Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party was founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Its predecessors, the Hsing Chung Hui (Revive China Society), the Hui (Common Alliance Society), and the Chung-kuo Ko-ming Tang (China Revolutionary Party), also organized by Dr. Sun, all contributed to the overthrow of the Manchu monarchy. The First National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Canton in 1924. It adopted Dr. Sun's San-min Chu-i [Three People's Principles] as the creed of the Party. The three principles

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6. (continued) fortunes at the expense of the nation. They are the persons who have identified the nationalist government as a corrupt regime. Chiang Kai-shek himself has always led a life of simplicity, according to those close to him.

7. Tsung-ts'ai in Chinese.

625 wine, tobacco, and salt in violation of government monopoly, and violations of the 37.5 rent reduction program.

Conclusions

643 In describing the Nationalist government policies, 1949–51, the writer has sought to ascertain their nature and contents by recounting a chain of events which set the political pattern in contemporary Taiwan and by a survey of what has taken place since. From them may be drawn the following tentative conclusions:

1. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters have been exercising a dominant role in National Government policies, 1949–51.

665 2. While there are three known political parties active in national politics in Taiwan, the Kuomintang, as presently constituted, is the ruling party.

631 3. The political framework in Taiwan may be described as one of over-all political control by the Nationalist government, centralized management by the provincial government, and local self-government, still in its preliminary stage, at the municipal and county levels.

652 4. The National Taiwan currency has exhibited a degree of stability which compares favorably with that in most postwar countries having suffered from war devastation.

5. Nationalist government assets and reserve, sale of government properties, and ECA assistance are contributing factors in balancing the provincial budgets in recent years.

427 6. The 37.5 rent reduction program has contributed towards rural well-being, along with the projects sponsored by the Joint Committee on Rural Rehabilitation.

433 7. There has been an upward trend in agricultural and industrial produc-

[p. 222 (13)]